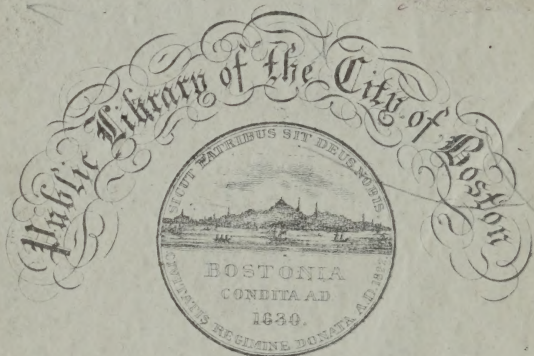


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THE
REVOLUTION IN AMERICA:

A LECTURE

BY

JOHN ELLIOTT CAIRNES, A. M.,

PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY,
IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY.

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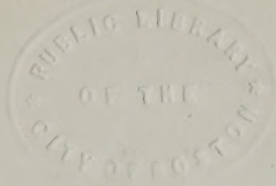
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The Revolution in America :

A Lecture

BY

JOHN ELLIOTT CAIRNES, A.M.,

PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, IN
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

DUBLIN YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

IN CONNEXION WITH THE

UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,

IN THE

METROPOLITAN HALL, OCTOBER 30TH, 1862.

THE RIGHT REV. H. VERSCHOYLE,

LORD BISHOP OF KILMORE, ELPHIN AND ARDAGH

IN THE CHAIR.

THE
REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

It is with feelings of no ordinary diffidence that I appear before you this evening—diffidence inspired at once by the distinguished audience in whose presence I find myself, and by the topic which I have undertaken to treat. For I am not ignorant that I now address an audience whose ears have become familiar with strains of eloquence, such as I can have no pretension to offer you; and I know that I have to deal with a topic, not only of extreme importance and delicacy, but one respecting which the sympathies of the public have already taken a decided course, and that course in a direction, I deeply regret to think, the reverse of that in which my own sympathies run. So strongly, indeed, do I feel the force of this consideration, that, were I to consult my own taste merely, “the Revolution in America” is certainly not the subject which I should have selected for this occasion. It has, however, been intimated to me, that it is the wish of your Association, that I should address you upon this question; and, under these circumstances I do not conceive—the question being one to which I have given some study—that I should be justified in resisting your very flattering request. I propose, therefore,

to bring under your attention this evening the Revolution in America. I undertake the task—I say it with the most unaffected sincerity—with a profound sense of my own utter inability to do it justice, but still with the hope that I may say enough to induce some of those who hear me to reconsider their opinions; and I do so in the full confidence that I shall receive at your hands that indulgence which an honest attempt to speak the truth on an important subject seldom fails to meet with in an Irish assembly.

It will, I think, conduce to a clearer apprehension of what is to follow, if here at the outset, I state frankly the conclusions which I have myself come to respecting the matter in hand. I hold, then, that the present convulsion in America is the natural fruit and inevitable consequence of the existence of slavery in that continent; and, as slavery has been the cause of the outbreak, so I conceive slavery is the stake which is really at issue in the struggle. I hold that the success of the North means, if not the immediate emancipation of slaves, at least the immediate arrest of slavery, and, with its immediate arrest, the certainty of its ultimate extinction; and, on the other hand, that the success of the South means the establishment of slavery on a broader and firmer basis than has hitherto sustained it, combined with a menace of its future indefinite extension. I hold, moreover, that the form of society which has been reared on slavery in the Southern States is substantially a new fact in history—being in its nature at once retrograde and aggressive; retrograde as regards the human constituents which compose it, and aggressive as regards all other forms of social life with which it may come in contact—a system of society which combines the strength of civilization with all the evil instincts of barbarism. Such, as I conceive, is the phenomenon now presented by the Southern Confederacy; and the struggle which we witness

is but the effort of this new and formidable monster to disengage itself from the restraints which free society in self defence was drawing around it, in order to secure for its development an unbounded field.

Such, in a few words, are the conclusions at which I have arrived on this momentous matter. I shall now proceed to state, as succinctly as I can, the considerations by which I have been led to them.

I maintain, then, in the first place, that the war has had its origin in slavery; and, in support of this statement, I appeal to the whole past history of the United States, and to the explicit declarations of the Confederate leaders themselves. What has been the history of the United States for the last fifty years? It has been little more than a record of aggressions made by the power which represents slavery, feebly and almost always unsuccessfully resisted by the Free States, and culminating in the present war. The question between North and South is constantly stated here as if it was the North which was the aggressive party—as if the North had been pursuing towards the Southern people a career of encroachment and oppression, which had reached its climax in Mr. Lincoln's election; and as if the act of secession were but an act of self-defence, forced upon a reluctant people whose measure of humiliation was full. Now the facts of the case are precisely the reverse of this. It is not the North, but the South, which for half a century has predominated in the Union. It is not the South, but the North, which has drunk the cup of humiliation. Southern men and Northern nominees of Southern men have filled the President's chair, have monopolized the offices of state, have represented the country in foreign courts, and have shaped the whole policy of the Union. The whole course of domestic policy in the United States, from the passing of the Missouri compromise

to its repeal, and from its repeal to the conspiracy of secession, hatched under Mr. Buchanan's government and carried out by men who had sworn allegiance to the Union, has been directed to the same end—the aggrandisement of Southern interests and the consolidation of Southern power. And such as its domestic policy has been, such also has been its foreign policy. That policy is written in the Seminole war, in the annexation of Texas, in the conquest of half of Mexico, in lawless attempts upon Cuba, in the invasion of peaceful states in Central America, in the defence of the Slave trade against the vigilance of British cruisers. Wherever we turn, there is the same restless and aggressive spirit at work, employing now intrigue and now violence, now conniving at filibustering raids and now waging open war, and always in the same cause—the cause of the South and of slavery. It is to this end that for half a century the whole power and influence of the United States have been directed; and let us observe with what results. In 1790, three years after the Union was established, the Slave States comprised an area of 250,000 square miles; in 1860 that area had grown to 851,000 square miles. In 1790 the number of slaves in the Union was less than three-quarters of a million; in 1860 that number had increased to upwards of four millions. Such has been the material progress of the Southern institution; and still more striking has been its progress as a political and social power. When the Union was founded, slavery was dying out in the North, and was looked upon as doomed in the South. It was tolerated indeed, in consideration of the important interests which it involved, but tolerated with shame. The very name excluded from the public documents, and the thing itself absolutely prohibited in those districts in which it was not already actually established—it was, in all the circumstances of its treatment, branded as plainly at variance

with the fundamental principles of the Republic. This was the position of slavery, in a moral and political point of view, when the Union was founded; but what is its position when the Union is dissolved? No longer content with a local toleration as an exceptional and tabooed system, it claims a free career over the area of a continent; it aspires to become the basis of a new order of political fabric, and boldly puts itself forth as a model for the imitation of the world.

The struggle, therefore, which now convulses America, is not the struggle of an oppressed people rising against its oppressors, but the revolt of a party which has long ruled a great republic to retrieve by arms a political defeat—the rising of the apostles of a principle which has long been working its way to supremacy to consummate a long series of triumphs by a last effective blow.

I have said that the purpose of the Southern revolt is to establish a new order of political edifice, of which slavery is to be the basis. This statement is, I am aware, vehemently denied in this country; but on this point it is for yourselves to decide between the declarations of the Confederate leaders, addressed to their own countymen, and those of writers who on this side of the Atlantic, and before an English audience, advocate their cause. I hold in my hand a paper of rather curious significance: it is entitled the “Philosophy of Secession.” It is from the pen of an eminent Southern, the Hon. L. W. Spratt of South Carolina, a gentleman who has for some years taken a prominent part in the political affairs of the South. Mr. Spratt is the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, one of the most influential papers in the South, if not the most influential. He represented Charleston in that South Carolina Convention which first gave the watchword of secession; and the confidence reposed in him by the people of South Carolina may be inferred from the fact, that he was

one of the commissioners appointed by that—the leading secession state—in the most critical juncture of its history, to expound its views before the other insurgent Conventions. The Hon. Mr. Spratt, occupying this position, may, I think, speak the views of the South with some authority. I ask you, then, to attend to Mr. Spratt's exposition of the cause at stake in the present war.

“The South,” says Mr. Spratt, “is now in the formation of a Slave republic. This, perhaps, is not admitted generally. There are many contented to believe that the South, as a geographical section, is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no especial truth—pregnant of no distinct social nature; that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that for reasons equally insufficient, there is a disagreement between the peoples that direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of co-existence, but as a mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear, is an inadequate conception of the controversy.

“The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together, and practise, yet, in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life. But the real contest is between *the two forms of society* which have become established, the one at the North and the other at the South. Society is essentially different from government—as different as is the nut from the bur, or the nervous body of the shellfish from the bony structure which surrounds it; and within this government two societies had become developed as variant

in structure and distinct in form as any two beings in animated nature. The one is a society composed of one race, the other of two races. The one is bound together but by the two great social relations of husband and wife and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, parent and child, and master and slave. The one, embodies in its political structure that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man, expands upon the horizontal plane of pure democracy; the other, embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. . . . Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union. And the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other; neither could expand within the forms of a single government without encroachment on the other. . . . The slave trade suppressed, democratic society has triumphed. More than five millions from abroad have been added to their number; that addition has enabled them to grasp and hold the government. That government, from the very necessities of their nature, they are forced to use against us. Slavery was within its grasp, and forced to the option of extinction in the Union or of independence out, *it dares to strike, and it asserts its claim to nationality* and its right to recognition among the leading social systems of the world. Such, then, being the nature of the contest, this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself."

The object of the South, then, is to found a Slave republic—a republic which has taken to itself "the rounded form of a social aristocracy." But there is one feature in the pro-

spective policy of this Slave aristocracy upon which the "Philosophy of Secession," as expounded by Mr. Spratt, throws so strong a light, that I must avail myself of one more quotation before taking leave of his able essay—I mean the position taken by the Confederacy with reference to the African Slave-trade. We all know that the Montgomery Convention, in drawing up the Southern constitution, introduced a clause prohibiting this trade. There are writers in this country who would have us believe that this prohibition is conclusive as to the views of the Southern leaders on this subject. But, knowing something of the history of this Southern party, and of the circumstances under which this constitution was drawn up, I confess that, for one, I have always had considerable doubts as to the *bonâ fide* character of this prohibition, and these doubts have not been removed by the speculations of Mr. Spratt. "Then why adopt this measure?" says Mr. Spratt. "Is it that Virginia and the other Border States require it? They may require it now, but is it certain they will continue to require it? It may be said that without such a general restriction the value of their slaves will be diminished in the markets of the West. *They have no right to ask that their slaves, or any other products, shall be protected to unnatural value in the markets of the West.* If they persist in regarding the negro but as a thing of trade—a thing which they are too good to use, but only can produce for others' uses—and join the Confederacy, as Pennsylvania or Massachusetts might do, not to support the structure, but to profit by it, it were as well they should not join, and we can find no interest in such association." And then, referring to what was well understood to be the other reason for the prohibitory clause—the desire to conciliate European support, Mr. Spratt thus expresses himself:—"They (the European nations) will submit to any terms of

intercourse with the Slave Republic in consideration of its markets and its products. An increase of slaves will increase the market and supply. They will pocket their philanthropy and the profits together. And so solicitude as to the feeling of foreign States upon this subject is gratuitous: and so it is that our suppression of the slave trade is warranted by no necessity to respect the sentiment of foreign States I truly think we want more slaves. We want them to the proper cultivation of our soil, to the just development of our resources, and to the proper constitution of society. Even in this State I think we want them; of eighteen million acres of land, less than four million are in cultivation. We have no seamen for our commerce, if we had it, and no operatives for the arts; but it is not for that I now oppose restrictions on the slave trade. I oppose them from the wish to emancipate our institution. *I regard the slave trade as the test of its integrity. If that be right, then slavery is right, but not without;* and I have been too clear in my perceptions of the claims of that great institution—too assured of the failure of antagonist democracy, too convinced the one presents the conditions of social order, too convinced the other does not, and too convinced, therefore, that the one must stand while the other falls, to abate my efforts or pretermitt the means by which it may be brought to recognition and establishment.

“Believing, then, that this is a test of slavery, and that the institution cannot be right if the trade be not, I regard the constitutional prohibition as a great calamity. I was the single advocate of the slave trade in 1853; *it is now the question of the time.*”

* “Now, if that,” said the Hon. Andrew Jackson Hamilton of Texas, in a recent speech at New York, referring to Mr. Spratt’s essay, “was but the sentiment of one Southern man, addressed to a trusted agent of the State of Louisiana, then a sitting member in the Con-

So far the representative man of the leading secession state—the exponent of the “philosophy of secession.” And now I will ask you to observe how fully these doctrines have been accepted by the men who have been entrusted with the actual guidance of this movement. Mr. A. H. Stephens, the Vice-president of the Confederacy, thus states the principles on which it has been founded:—

“The ideas entertained at the formation of the old Constitution,” says Mr. Stephens, “were, that the enslavement of the African race was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, politically. *Our new government is founded on exactly opposite ideas*; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and moral condition. *This our government is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.* It is upon this that our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of the full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world. . . . This stone which was rejected by the first builders ‘is become the chief stone’ in our edifice.” We are told by those who, in this country,

vention, there might be but little practical significance in it. If it had been reprobated by the public press in that section, or condemned by the public voice, there might be little significance in the fact that such sentiments were promulgated to the world. But when you bear in mind that that letter was reproduced in the leading prints of the South, and spoken of in terms of commendation, and that up to this hour no man has lifted his voice in criticism against any of the positions there assumed, then it is significant. I have heard the echoes of those sentiments in the streets, in the hotels, in the parlors and at the festive board.”

advocate the immediate recognition of the South, that we should not be deterred from this course by the circumstance, that the South is a slave power. "A slave power!" they exclaim. "Was not the United States a slave power? Is not Spain a slave power? Is not Brazil a slave power? And have we not recognized these? Why, then, should we now become all at once so scrupulous?" This is the position taken by the admirers of the South in England; but it is evident it is not the position taken by the statesmen who now govern the South. "*Our new government*," says the Vice-president of the Confederacy, "*is founded upon exactly opposite ideas*" to those which presided at the founding of the Union. "*This our government is the first in the history of the world based upon the great physical, philosophical, and moral truth*"—the lie embodied in slavery. In other words, slavery has before existed, but it has never before been propounded as a fundamental principle of social and political life; it has never before been preached as a gospel; it has existed, but it has never before been taken as the corner-stone of an empire. This it is which, as set forth by its own Vice-president (whose statement of the case I prefer to English glosses)—this it is, I say, which separates the Southern Confederacy from all previous, and from all existing, examples of communities tolerating slavery, which renders it a new fact in history, and constitutes it unequivocally the one Slave Power in the world.

I say, then, that the present convulsion in America has originated in the exigencies of slavery; and that the stake at issue in the struggle is the existence of a Slave Empire, founded upon principles of policy now propounded for the first time in the history of the world. A year or two ago I should have thought, that, having established this, I had sufficiently established my case; and that a dozen men in the British Islands could not be found who would express

open sympathy with a body convicted of such designs. But really it seems to me that a singular change has, in relation to this subject, passed over the minds of my countrymen. I do not mean to say that there is any considerable number of persons in these countries, much less that there are any among my present audience, who regard slavery with positive favour; but I do say that public feeling on the subject is not what it used to be. I find a disposition in high quarters—among eminent public men, and some of our most influential organs of public opinion—a disposition to evade this aspect of the case, or, where it is met, to palliate it—a tone of apology, in short, assumed towards slavery to which British ears have not hitherto been accustomed. “The Negroes,” says the *Saturday Review*, in a recent number (Oct. 11, 1862), “have been slaves for generations. They are used to slavery, and, for the most part, contented with it. They are plentifully fed, for food is cheap and abundant; and even their legal allowance is more than they can possibly eat. They are well housed—as racehorses or hunters are well housed in this country—because they are costly chattels. They are well clothed as the climate requires. In a word, the vast majority of them have no grievance whatever except in the fact that they are slaves”—a grievance, it would seem, which is not worth speaking of; for, says this elevated moralist and edifying public instructor, “that grievance is one which few of them are thoughtful enough to feel.”

This is the language in which slavery is now discussed by writers who command the ear of cultivated England. The slaves are well off—well fed, clothed, and housed, and what more would you have? They have no grievance whatever except in the fact that they are slaves, which after all, it seems, is not a grievance, since they are not thoughtful enough to feel it; in other words, it comes to this, that four millions

of the African race—a race capable,—as we know from the testimony of competent witnesses to their condition in our own West India Islands, from the results of the mixed schools in New England, and from occasional instances which come under our observation in this country,—not merely of feeling the obligations and performing the duties of rational creatures, but of receiving a very considerable amount of intellectual cultivation—that four millions, I say, of these people, thus capable of human destiny, have, under the system of the South, been reduced to a condition in which they are simply brutes, with the instincts of brutes, and with no aspiration beyond the aspiration of the brute. This is the cool admission of a writer whose object is—for this is the important point—not to discredit, but to do honour to, Southern slavery—of a vehement admirer and thoroughgoing partisan of the Southern Confederacy, who seeks, by the description which I have quoted, to conciliate public favour towards the institution which he thus describes. But my present hearers will, I doubt not, disclaim the morality of the *Saturday Review*. Public sentiment on this as on many other subjects, has not yet, thank God, reached the high level of that enterprising print. Still it is important to note the extreme point which the wave has yet touched; and if opinion still falls short of the sentiments which I have quoted, I think most candid persons will admit that it has, at least, been moving in that direction. No doubt, it is common to hear the disclaimer—"Of course we don't approve of slavery!" but I think it will generally be found that this is but the prelude to a discourse, showing how much is to be said for the institution, and winding up with a warning as to the dangers of premature emancipation. Yes! the bugbear of "premature emancipation" is fast becoming to the popular mind more frightful than the fact of ripe and flourishing

slavery; and the danger which Englishmen are now learning above all others to dread, is, lest slaves should be liberated one moment too soon. This, it seems to me, is becoming the prevalent feeling with reference to slavery; and I cannot, therefore, deem it superfluous to call attention for a few moments to the character of the institution towards which this feeling of toleration, if not of countenance and encouragement, is rapidly growing up.

What, then, is the character of slavery as it exists in the Southern States of North America? It is a system under which men and women, boys and girls, are exposed like cattle in the market-place, and are bought and sold. It is a system under which a whole race of men is deprived of all the rights and privileges of rational creatures, and consigned to a life of hopeless, unremitting toil, in order that another race may live in idleness on the fruits of its labours. It is a system under which, if we are to believe its admirers, the Negroes are perfectly contented, but from which they are constantly escaping in spite of the terrors of fugitive slave laws, of blood-hounds and man-hunters—a paradise, if you will, but a paradise from which its denizens escape to the dismal swamp—a paradise to which no fugitive Negro, who has once escaped from it, has ever yet been known to return. Under this system a human being, convicted of no crime, may, in strict conformity with law, be flogged at the discretion of his fellow, and may even die under the lash without entailing any penalty on his murderer. Under this system human beings may be, and within the last ten years have been in several instances, burned alive. All property is for the Negro contraband; the acquisition of knowledge is a penal offence. The marriage tie receives no legal recognition, and no practical respect. Nay, it is worse than this! Those consequences, which in civilized communities form the natural restraints on

unlicensed desire, are here converted into incentives; for the relation between father and son is, in the presence of slavery, less sacred than that between master and slave; and the mulatto offspring of a white father is not a child but a chattel: instead of entailing responsibilities it brings to the author of its being so many dollars as a price. Yes, I say that the laws of the Southern States permit fathers to enslave and sell their children, and that there are fathers in the Southern States who freely avail themselves of this law. Do you doubt it? Then account for the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons—many of them scarcely distinguishable in colour from Europeans—who now form so large a proportion of the whole enslaved population of the South. From what source has this European blood flowed into servile veins? From whence, but from the white caste in the South?—from the men who commit their own flesh and blood to the charge of the brutal overseer, or to the more brutal trader in human flesh. This is an aspect of the case which I would gladly have passed by; but, in the present state of opinion, the facts are too serious to be blinked; and before the people of this country, which has achieved its best renown in ridding its own lands of this curse, be committed to the countenance and support of a power, the final cause of whose existence is to extend this very evil, it is important that we should understand what the cause is which we are assisting to sustain.

We hear much in these times of the “chivalry” of the South. The Southern, we are told, are gentlemen, and on this ground they are contrasted favourably with the shop-keepers, the traders, and the lawyers of the North. I shall certainly not deny that the wealthier classes in the South possess in a high degree those qualities which the principle of caste tends to engender—pride, courage, loyalty to the interests of their order, capacity for government, perseverance in a fixed course

of policy. Nay, even as regards the chivalry and gentility—these being points about which our notions are somewhat vague, and on which opinions are apt to differ—I shall not undertake to say that the South does not possess them. I only ask you to remember that the chivalry and gentility of the South is not incompatible with the systematic appropriation of the fruits of another's labour, with laying the whip on the shoulders of a woman—with acts, that is to say, which called down on Marshal Haynau the indignation of the London draymen; with turning one's own flesh and blood to pecuniary profit; or, to give a particular illustration, with such atrocities as that committed by a Southern gentleman on the person of Mr. Sumner. The story is an old one, and probably familiar to many whom I address, but it throws so much light on the manners of the gentle and chivalrous South, that I must tell it once again. Mr. Sumner, you are probably aware, is one of the few public men in the United States, who, in his moral character and intellectual attainments, is worthy to take a place among the scholars, orators and statesmen of Europe. In 1856, when opposing the introduction of slavery into Kansas, he made in the Senate of the United States, as senator for Massachusetts, one of the most powerful speeches ever delivered in any legislative assembly. In this speech he denounced the policy and aims of the Slave Power in language which was plain and outspoken, but which did not pass what in this country is considered the legitimate limit of parliamentary debate. The adherents of the South were fiercely exasperated, and how did Southern chivalry take its revenge? Two days afterwards, as Mr. Sumner sat at his desk in the Senate House, the House having adjourned, engaged in writing a letter, and with his head bent over his paper, he was approached by Mr. Brooks, the representative of South Carolina. Mr. Brooks

addressed him: "I have read your speech, and it is a libel on the South;" and forthwith, while the words were yet passing from his lips, and before Mr. Sumner could rise from his seat, commenced a succession of blows on his bare head with a heavy cane. Mr. Sumner was immediately stunned, and fell upon the floor: his assailant stood over him, and continued the assault. Blow after blow fell upon his defenceless head. There were senators of the South present, and there was one senator from the North—Mr. Douglas of Illinois—a democratic politician and close ally of the South; but there was no interference. One old man, indeed, did interfere a little towards the close, but for that little he was threatened with chastisement on the spot. The scene proceeded to its close, Mr. Brooks desisting just before murder was accomplished. This is the mode in which the South avenges its grievances: this is its notion of parliamentary fence. But the important point is the mode in which the outrage was received by the Southern people. Not one press south of the Potomac condemned the act; not one public body, not one public man, condemned it. Not one word of reprobation, or even of rebuke, came from any quarter of the South. On the contrary, it was universally hailed as a proper manifestation of Southern spirit: it was recognized as a sample of the policy which the times required; and, not the men of the South only, but the women of the South, combined to heap commendation, honour, and reward upon the perpetrator.

So far as to the character and aims of the Southern Confederacy. Let me now endeavour to state the nature of that political movement which has brought the Free States and the South into collision. And here you will of course understand that I cannot pretend to do more than give the barest outline of the case. At every step I encounter events which deserve description, and questions which need explanation—

I leave difficulties unsolved and objections unanswered. I cannot help it. The utmost I can hope to do in the brief time during which I can venture to occupy your attention, is to touch on a few salient points of the picture, and thus to convey a general notion of the drift and meaning of the whole.

To understand the influences which now agitate Northern society, to appreciate the significance of the part which the North has already acted in this great drama and the results towards which it is tending, the first capital fact to be seized is, that the movement of which we now contemplate the results—the movement which carried Mr. Lincoln to power, and of which the success was the signal for secession—that this movement is a re-action against the influences which had previously been supreme in the Union.

As I have already stated, from 1820 down to the present outbreak, the government of the United States has, with the exception of a few short intervals, been in the hands of a party composed of Southern politicians, and of a section in the North, which, for political purposes, may be regarded as Southern—the Northern democrats. Of this political combination, I do not overstate the case when I say that its leading idea, its paramount aim, almost its single purpose, was to extend slavery, and to achieve political power by extending it. Under the influence of this party political life had suffered a blight, such as in no country it had ever before undergone in the same space of time: political morality had deteriorated; the intellect of political men had waned; political honesty was scarcely to be found; politics had become a by-word; and, in spite of a material prosperity which dazzled the world, the United States in all the qualities which make a nation respected and honoured had visibly declined. Down to 1855 this progress to ruin encountered no

serious obstruction ; but in that year the evil at length began to work its own cure. The excesses of the dominant party, the shameless doctrines which it advanced, the still more shameless deeds which it perpetrated, awoke the best minds in the United States to a sense of the fearful descent down which it was hurrying—of the certain perdition which lay a-head. A re-action in public feeling at this point took place. The Republican party was formed. From that time to the present the influences which produced this party have been gathering strength. It is this party which carried Mr. Lincoln to power, and it is the same which is now rapidly transforming the whole policy of the Republic.

It is important that we should understand the principles of this Republican party ; for they are those which have shaped the Federal policy for the last two years, and may determine it for many years to come. Those principles were such as the attitude assumed by the Republicans as the opponents of the policy of the South naturally called for ; and therefore, to appreciate the Republican position, it will be necessary to advert briefly to the course which Southern policy had previously pursued.

And first, you must bear in mind that the question at issue in the past contests respecting slavery in the United States, has not been, as is frequently supposed in this country, whether slavery should be abolished or maintained, but whether it should be restricted to its present limits or extended. From the foundation of the Union down to the present hour, —or more correctly, down to the recent proclamation of Mr. Lincoln,—no considerable politician has proposed to interfere with slavery in the states where it is already established.*

* Even the abolitionists shrunk from going this length : their programme was—the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and wherever else the Federal authority is competent to abolish it ; and as regards the rest—that is, the States where slavery is already established—separation.

All the efforts of the party opposed to slavery on the one hand, and of the Slave party on the other, have been directed exclusively to the "territories" as the field of their opposing principles. And here I must interrupt my statement for a moment, to explain, for the benefit of those who have not paid much attention to American politics, the peculiar signification which the word "territory" bears in the United States. In the political nomenclature of the United States "territory" does not signify what it signifies with us—simply the area of a country, but a certain portion only of that area existing under certain conditions; these conditions being, that society in it should not yet have been organized under a distinct local government subordinate to the general government of the United States, and called a "state" government. A "territory," in short, is a portion of the domain of the Union which is not yet a "state." Thus in the political discussions of the United States, "territory" is always opposed to "state;" a "state" being for all local purposes under its own government; while a "territory," having no local government, comes directly for all purposes whatever under the control of the central or Federal authority.* The "territories" are in short the unsettled portions of the public domain—those vast regions which, beyond the line of the states, stretch away to the Pacific. Now it is this portion of the domain of the United States which has always formed the battle ground of the contending forces of slavery and freedom; and I have now to call your attention to the series of pretensions advanced by the Slave party in its attempts upon these possessions.

When the Union was founded, as I have already intimated,

* Constitution of the United States, art. iv. sec. 3. "With respect to the vast territories belonging to the United States, Congress have assumed to exercise over them supreme powers of sovereignty. Exclusive and unlimited power is given to Congress by the Constitution, and sanctioned by judicial decisions." *Kent's Commentaries*, vol. 1, p. 422.

the Slave interest was content with a merely local toleration. Over the districts owned by the State authorities it was permitted, at the discretion of those authorities, to extend itself; but from that which was properly the public domain—from that portion of the country which belonged, not to the particular States, but to the Central Government, Slavery was absolutely excluded. What renders the case more striking, is, that the whole of this land, then known as the “North-western territory,” had been ceded to the central authority by a Slave State—the State of Virginia; while the first resolution providing for its government, and which contained the anti-slavery clause which was subsequently enacted, was brought forward by a native of the same state, Jefferson, himself not merely a Southern, but a slaveholder. If in those times the Slave party entertained the pretensions which they have recently advanced, of making slavery a *national* institution, and securing for it protection in *all* parts of the Union, this would have been a favourable opportunity for advancing such a claim. But no such claim was advanced. On the contrary, the leading statesman of the leading slave state took the initiative in proposing that slavery should be for ever excluded from all the “territories” of the Union. Jefferson’s resolution was lost; but within three years the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, containing the anti-slavery clause, was passed, and passed unanimously, securing to freedom the whole of the vast region to which it applied. It thus appears, that, at the opening of the United States history, the Slave party was content with a local toleration. It advanced no pretensions on the “territories” of the Union.*

* “In the territories north-west of the river Ohio, and as separate territories were successively formed, Congress adopted and applied the principles of the ordinance of the Confederation Congress of the date of the 13th July, 1787. That ordinance was framed upon sound and enlightened maxims of civil jurisprudence.”—*Kent’s Commentaries*, vol. 1, p. 423-4.

At an early period in the present century, however, we find a change in this state of things. With the vast extension of the cotton cultivation, slave interests in the Republic rapidly grew; new slave states were created; and by 1818 the pretension was openly advanced to carry slavery without restriction into the "territories." The form in which this pretension was brought forward was in the demand for the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state. The demand called forth strong opposition in the Northern States; a violent political contest ensued; and the result was a compromise—the celebrated "Missouri compromise"—under which the Slave party gained its immediate object—the admission of Missouri, but on the express condition, that in future, slavery should not be introduced into the "territories," north of a certain parallel of latitude. This was the first great achievement of the Slave party. It amounted practically to a division of the then "territories" of the Republic between freedom and slavery. In this position the question remained till about the year 1850, at which time the entire of the territory which, under the Missouri compromise, fell to the share of the South, having been appropriated, the determination was formed to repeal the Missouri compromise, with a view to the extension of slavery into the portion of the territory reserved by that compact to the Free States. The Missouri compromise, therefore, was denounced by the South as "unconstitutional;" and the doctrine was advanced that the proper arbiters for determining the question of slavery or no-slavery in the "territories," was, not the Federal government, but the settlers. To this doctrine was given the appropriate name of "Squatter Sovereignty;" and a bill embodying it was introduced and passed in 1854,—a bill, by which the unsettled lands were virtually thrown open to be scrambled for by the contending parties. This was the second step accomplished by the Slave Power in its career of aggression. The "ter-

ritories," which had originally been the exclusive field of freedom, and which had afterwards been divided between the opposing claimants, were now thrown open to slavery throughout their whole extent.

The prospects of slavery were now promising, yet the hoped for results were not realized. The measure of 1854, though it threw open the "territories" to slavery, did not go the length of establishing slavery in those domains: it left this to be decided by the settlers; and on actual trial it was proved that, in the business of colonization the Slave States were no match for the Free. The experiment was made, as is well known, in Kansas, and, in spite of the most unscrupulous use of every expedient which intrigue and armed violence, backed by the connivance of the Federal Government, then in the hands of the Southern party, could furnish, the defeat of the Slave party in its attempt to seize the "squatter sovereignty" was ignominious and complete.

There was need, therefore, once again to reconsider the situation. The doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" was accordingly without hesitation put aside, and in its place a new doctrine was propounded. A slave, it was said, is by the Constitution recognized as property; but property is property in one part of the Union as much as in another, and the first duty of government is to protect property, and to protect it wherever its jurisdiction extends. From these premises the conclusion was drawn that it was the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery in all parts of the Union—in the "territories" as well as in the states, and in the Free States as well as in the Slave.

This was the last and culminating pretension of the Slave Power: it amounted to no less than a demand to convert the whole Union into one great slave-holding domain. Not only was this pretension advanced, but an important step was taken

towards making it good. By dint of packing the courts of justice with Southern partizans, a decision was obtained from the Supreme Court of the United States—the notorious Dred Scott decision—which fully bore out the views of the Slave party. It was laid down, first, that there was no difference between a slave and other kinds of property; and secondly, that all American citizens might settle with their property in any part of the Union in which they pleased.

Something more, however, than a judicial decision was required to make good the designs of the Slave party. It had need of a government which should be prepared to act upon the principles thus enunciated. This it was which they resolved to obtain at the last presidential election; and it was because they failed in this object that secession was proclaimed.

You have now before you the career of aggression, against which the Free States, under the lead of the Republican party, at length rose in resistance; and in view of this you will understand the position which this party assumed. As the aim of the South was slavery-extension, so the ground taken by the Republican party in its opposition to the South was the non-extension of slavery. I say the *non-extension*, not the abolition of slavery; for the Constitution had guaranteed slavery in the States where it already existed, and it was no part of the policy of the Republican party to violate the Constitution. Slavery, therefore, in the States was not directly threatened; but the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision was repudiated, and it was declared that for the future slavery should be excluded from all the “territories” of the Republic. This was the ground taken by the Republican party: it was on these principles that Mr. Lincoln was raised to power; and it was because these principles triumphed that the South seceded.

But here it will perhaps occur to some of those whom I address, that this Republican policy, after all, scarcely deserves the importance which I have attributed to it. Proposing merely to confine slavery within its present domain, it leaves the existing body of the evil, it will be thought, absolutely untouched—nay, under the Constitution, protected against all external assaults; so that, even supposing the Republicans triumphant, slavery would still remain erect and unassailable; and this view of the case may suggest the suspicion that such consequences as those which followed the Presidential contest can scarcely be due to a cause apparently so disproportioned to the alleged result as the policy which I have described.

But it will not be difficult to show that the Republican policy involves far more than at first meets the eye, and contains, in fact, quite enough to account for the explosion which followed its successful assertion. It is a fact, familiar to the people alike of the Free and of the Slave States, that for the profitable working of slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, a constant succession of fresh soils is a fundamental necessity. This is a consequence of the methods of cultivation practised under slavery—methods of cultivation through the effect of which the soil, after a short series of years, becomes impoverished, necessitating the emigration of the planters with their slaves to new fields. Hence it follows, that if slavery could only be confined permanently within its existing limits, a radical change in its industrial system would, after some time, be forced upon the South—a change which would involve, as its consequence, a substitution of free for servile labour. Now this would entail social as well as economical consequences, and would, in fact, be equivalent to the downfall of the social aristocracy of the South. Against this the whole body of slave-holders will, it may well be believed, strive as a single man. To accept the Republican policy would be

for the slave-holders to sign the death warrant of their system, and with it, of their own power. But, further, in addition to the economic effects of the Republican policy, it would have had certain political consequences, which, perhaps, were still more vividly present to the minds of the Southern leaders. Under the Constitution of the United States, the Senate is the most powerful branch of the Legislature. Representation in it is in proportion to States—each State, whatever its size or population, sending just two senators to congress. Under these circumstances, supposing slavery to be confined permanently within the States where it at present exists, the representation of the Slave States in the Senate could never exceed its present number; and inasmuch as, with the growth of population in the Northern States, the number of Free States is constantly increasing, it is evident that, under the operation of the principle of restriction proposed by the Republican party, the political influence of the Free States would rapidly preponderate in the general government. Moderate, therefore, and almost timid, as seemed the programme of the Republicans, it nevertheless involved consequences for the South of the most serious moment. By prohibiting the creation of new Slave States it repressed effectually the political influence of the Slave party in the Union, while, by confining slavery within its existing confines, it provided for its ultimate extinction even in those States where it is now established.

Reverting, now, to the history of the movement which we have carried up to the point at which the civil war broke out, I have to ask you to follow me while I indicate the course of the Northern policy, under the lead of the Republican party, since that time.

When the news of the impending outbreak first reached this country, the feeling of the public here, as you will doubtless remember, though not of a very energetic character, on

the whole, went with the North. It being understood that a contest was about to break out between the Free and Slave States, it was at once assumed (naturally enough, considering that we were not at that time acquainted with the antecedents of the contest) that the North was taking up arms to put down slavery. A very short time was sufficient to dispel this illusion. One of Mr. Lincoln's first acts upon entering on the government, was a declaration that he had no intention to interfere with slavery where it was established. By this avowal the flow of public sentiment favourable to the North was at once arrested. It was now assumed that the war was quite unconnected with slavery; and after a short period of hesitation, our sympathies, under the skilful management of certain Southern engineers, set steadily to the Southern side.

In view now of the facts of the case, as I have just recalled them to your recollection, I ask you if our early expectation was not unreasonable? And I will not shrink from also asking you if our later conclusion was not unjust? We expected that the North should at once have thrown itself into an anti-slavery crusade. Was this a reasonable expectation? Universal emancipation—the abolition of slavery in the States where it had been established—had never been any part of the Northern programme. On the contrary, the Republican party, of which Mr. Lincoln was the representative, though embarked in a policy which aimed at the immediate restriction, and involved in its ultimate results the very existence, of slavery—a policy which those who were most concerned—the slaveholders, at once recognized as fatal, had always disavowed this design—had always declared its determination to abide by the Constitution. I might, perhaps, even go further than this, and, with the fuller knowledge of the case which we have since acquired, I think I might ask you, whether, at the stage of the business which we are now considering—

while civil war was yet but pending, while the chance still remained of accomplishing the desired object by peaceable and constitutional means, it would have been wise, whether it would have been justifiable, to have resorted at once to revolutionary measures, and to have put forward a manifesto which must inevitably have had the effect of rendering peaceful emancipation impossible.

But, secondly, I will ask you if our later conclusion was not unjust. It is true, the North did not take up arms directly and explicitly to abolish slavery. It took up arms to defend the Constitution—the Constitution under which the American people had grown from three to thirty millions, and under which those thirty millions, but for this slavery-born conspiracy, might long have lived together in harmony and peace; it took up arms to defend the Union—the Union which gave to the American people the status of a Great Power in the world; it took up arms, finally, to chastise a band of conspirators, who sought to retrieve by civil convulsion a political defeat. These, and not the abolition of slavery, were undoubtedly the motives which inspired the Northern rising. Nevertheless it is still, I maintain, true that the destruction of slavery was comprised in the programme of the North. It is often said here that the North would gladly have given up every thing—would have surrendered the whole cause of freedom—if it could only thereby have bribed the South to return. It would indeed have given up much: it was prepared to make—it actually did make—humiliating—I am forced to say it—disgraceful, concessions. Nay, there are people in the North who would undoubtedly have gone all needful lengths, and, for the sake of the commercial gains arising from the Southern connexion, would have gladly accepted the yoke of a Southern dictator. There are people there who would still do this. All this is too true. But let us do the North justice. There are

others, and these the most numerous—the party in whose hands the government is fortunately for the interests of mankind at present placed, who refused to exist upon these terms, who, from first to last, have stood firmly by what has been throughout the grand stake of the struggle—the destination of the “territories.” The offer of returning to the Union on the terms of receiving the “territories” was twice made by the South, and was twice rejected—let that never be forgotten: it was made, first, when the Crittenden compromise was tendered; and it was made, secondly, on the occasion of the interview of the Southern deputies with Mr. Lincoln, immediately before the breaking out of the war. A strong light has recently been thrown upon that meeting. One of those very Southern deputies, Mr. Ex-Governor Moorehead, is now in England, and has given his version of what then took place; and what is the story of this Southern Ex-Governor? He ridicules Mr. Lincoln’s attitudes, which, it seems, were ungainly; he tells us of some uncouth and decidedly bad jests perpetrated by the President; but as to the real business of the hour, his testimony is, that not one word was said at that critical moment about free trade; not one word about the Morill tariff; it was all about slavery; and the discussion was ultimately brought to this point—would the “territories” be abandoned? Give up the “territories” to be overrun by slave-holders and slaves, and the Union may be restored; but refuse this, and the Union shall be severed. In that critical hour the Illinois rail-splitter might be forgetful of the graces and sugared amenities of diplomatic intercourse, but he stood firm by the grand principle of the Republican party.* Where slavery now exists, there, he said, it may re-

* “He,” (Mr. Lincoln,) “said that he was willing to give a constitutional guarantee that slavery should not be molested in any way directly or indirectly in the States; that he was willing to go further, and give a

main, so long as it can sustain itself, but beyond that limit it shall not move. This was Mr. Lincoln's position, rather than abandon which he took the chance of disruption of the Union and civil war; and in this resolution he has been backed up by the vast majority of the Northern people. Therefore, I say, it is not true that the North was willing to surrender everything if the South would only return to the Union. The North always stood firm by its Republican programme—a programme which, modest and reasonable as it seems and is, really goes to the heart of the matter, and contains a principle, which, if made good, will ultimately stifle the monster of slavery in its own lair.

Well, I say, and I have always said, that, whatever might have been the ostensible, or even the actual, issues joined, the war was always in its essence an anti-slavery war. And now I will ask if experience has not borne out that opinion. I ask you to look at the measures which have been passed within the present year by Mr. Lincoln's government. In March last the first overture towards a settlement of the question was made. Mr. Lincoln addressed Congress, inviting it to join him in an offer of co-operation in a plan of emancipation, to be made to the legislatures of the Slave States—an invitation, which both Houses of Congress accepted by large majorities. A little later, an Act was passed abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia—a tract, which falls exclusively under Federal Legislation, and, therefore, affords a

guarantee that it should not be molested in the district of Columbia; and that he would go still further, and say that it should not be disturbed in the docks, arsenals, forts, and other places within the slaveholding States; but as for slavery in the territories, that his whole life was dedicated in opposition to its extension there; that he was elected by a party which had made that a portion of its platform, and he should consider that he was betraying that party if he ever agreed, under any state of the case, to allow slavery to be extended in the territories."—*Speech of Ex-Governor Moorhead.*

sure index of the policy of the Federal Government. Later again, we encounter a still more important Act—that which at once gave effect to the cardinal principle of the Republican programme—the exclusion for ever of slavery from the “territories.” And, lastly, we can point to the recent treaty with Great Britain, conceding what all the previous Governments of the United States refused—the right of searching Federal ships, and thus, at once rendering effectual what has hitherto been little more than an idle protest—our blockade of the African coast. These have been the achievements of the North under the present Government; and, in the face of these, will any one tell me that the policy of the North is not an anti-slavery policy? If it be not, I wish to know what is. I do not say that in this policy the North has been disinterested. I do not say that it is governed exclusively or principally by philanthropic views. I do not say that, as a nation, and as distinct from the small number of righteous men who are the salt of the nation, it cares a jot about the negro. I know too well that this is not the case. But, granting all this in the fullest sense, are we to wait till some heroic nation arises to wage mortal combat with the Slave Power in the name of simple justice? Are four millions of negroes to wear their chains till the growing virtue of mankind culminates in a people sublimely regardless of all but the loftiest aims. Is it this that practical England waits for? Or, rather, when the interests and instincts of a people conduct them towards humanity and justice, shall we not cheer them forward in the good path, and recognize in their advances, albeit urged by no better than vulgar impulses, that coincidence of right with well-being by which Providence governs the world? And, after all, if we but look at the facts without prejudice, the North has done that of which surely a nation may be fairly proud—that, on which, I venture to think, future times will look back with

other feelings than that scornful and horrified wonder, which, for the most part, is all that our critics here can find for it. In the midst of a career of unbounded material prosperity—prosperity in which, had it so pleased, it might long have continued to riot and to rot—it has arrested its course; it has shaken itself free from the frightful night-mare which had so long bestridden it; and, for the sake of great social and political ends, has committed all its best and dearest interests to the chances of a terrible war.

I have now traced the course of this American Revolution up to a recent time. Within the last month, however, the policy of the North has undergone a radical change. The anti-slavery measures which I have just now instanced—the proposal to co-operate with the State Governments, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the exclusion of slavery from the “territories,” the treaty with England for the suppression of the slave trade—all these measures possess the same character—they are all strictly constitutional. Thus the Constitution assigns legislation respecting slavery in the States to the State Governments; and, accordingly, it was through the State Governments that Mr. Lincoln proposed to deal with slavery in the States. On the other hand, the legislation for the District of Columbia, and for the “territories,” is entrusted by the Constitution to the Central Government; it was open, therefore, to the Government to deal with slavery there by a direct measure; and this accordingly was the course which was adopted. And so also of the treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade; it was a measure which came distinctly within the competence of the central authority. These measures, then, were all strictly constitutional; but, to give them effect, there was need of something more than an Act of Congress. The South had taken up arms to establish a Slave empire; and nothing short of military defeat would induce it to accept terms of

compromise, which were absolutely destructive of its designs. The military defeat of the South was therefore the primary and essential condition to the success of the new policy on which the North had entered.

I confess I am one of those who thought that this condition—the defeat, not the permanent subjugation of the South—might have been accomplished without departing from that constitutional policy which Mr. Lincoln had evidently from the first marked out for himself. But highly as I was disposed to rate the military prowess of the Confederacy, formidable as I thought it—and I did think it very formidable—I confess its achievements have exceeded my expectations; and, after the experience of the present year, I see no prospect of the fulfilment of that indispensable condition to the success of an anti-slavery policy—the military defeat of the South—except through an appeal on the Northern side to principles more powerful than any which have yet been invoked. It has been well said, that, while the South has enjoyed the full advantage of the evil principle of slavery, the North has only availed itself partially, and with hesitating nerve, of the good principle of freedom. The cause of slavery, decidedly asserted, and logically carried out, has rallied the whole Southern population to the standard of secession almost as a single man, while the North, substantially fighting the cause of freedom, but fettered by the Constitution, has hitherto shrunk from a bold appeal to those sentiments which freedom inspires. To give a practical illustration of the disadvantage under which the North labours from this half-hearted course:—while the South does not hesitate to avail itself of the services of negroes, *as slaves*,—whether on the plantation, or in the camp—the North has hitherto declined to take advantage of the same services, as the services of *freemen*.

On such terms freedom is no match for slavery. Experience has proved it. What then? Is freedom to succumb?

Is the North to lay down its arms? Is it to accept a peace dictated by a triumphant Slave Power, and are the fairest portions of the New World to be made a field for the propagation of the greatest curse which mankind has yet known? I say for my part, emphatically, No! Before freedom is pronounced defeated, let her at least have a fair chance: let her use both her hands; let her put forth all her powers; let her oppose to the demon of slavery the whole force and virtue of her own fair essence. And this is the truth which bitter disaster has at length brought home to the North. Hitherto slavery, broken loose from the Constitution, has been encountered by freedom clogged with the trammels of the Constitution. These trammels have now been flung aside; and freedom and slavery now for the first time find themselves face to face in the deadly combat.*

But this is to encourage a servile war! This is to sanction indiscriminate massacre! This is to inaugurate "a series of Cawnpores!" So says the *Times*. For my part, I have no

* It will be said that I am here doing more than justice to Mr. Lincoln's policy, since the proclamation offers freedom to the slaves of "rebels" only. It is true that the proclamation is open to this remark; nevertheless, a candid critic will acknowledge, that it is making severe demands on the self-denial of a government to require it, when having at its disposal so powerful a war measure as the offer of security of their principal property to the loyal, to refuse to take advantage of this resource. And, secondly, it is only fair to remember that the proclamation does not stand alone, but is rather the complement to the offer of compensation made by Congress to the loyal slaveholders some months before. No inference can be more unjust than that drawn by the *Times* from the terms of the proclamation, that, because the operation of that measure is confined to the slaves of rebels, *therefore*, the Northern Government contemplates holding in perpetual bondage all the rest of the negroes. Mr. Lincoln knows well that, if the Slave Power—the political system based on Slavery—be once broken, the chief inducement for maintaining Slavery will be at an end; not only this, but the prospect of new fields for Slave labour being by the same stroke cut off, the economic reasons for maintaining the institution would also disappear. In the event of the success, complete or partial, of the

faith in such predictions. I distrust the source from which they proceed. I cannot forget that the same authority, which now tells us that the negroes are ready to rise in ruthless fury on their masters, but the other day assured us that they were perfectly satisfied with their present condition—that they were well cared for, and were as loyal as they were comfortable. I cannot forget that the same censor, who now denounces the Northern Government for proclaiming emancipation, only a year ago denounced the same Government, with scarcely less emphasis, for not proclaiming emancipation. I cannot forget that the same seer, who now indulges his imagination in pictures of the horrors which liberty is to produce, has from the commencement of this crisis to the present hour uttered prophecy after prophecy, only to see prophecy after prophecy falsified by the event. I cannot forget that the denunciations which we now hear proceed from the same generous critic who leveled black insult at Free America in the darkest hour of her fortunes. I say, therefore, that I distrust the source from which these vaticinations proceed. For my part, I neither believe that the negroes are the contented and loyal beings which they are described in the columns of one day's *Times*, nor yet the ruthless savages which they are depicted in those of the next. I believe it would be much nearer the truth to say, that they resemble the harmless cattle of our fields, with an intelligence somewhat more developed and an instinct of self-interest somewhat surer; and, unless driven to desperation by such measures of atrocity as we find described in the telegram of to-day, in which seventeen negroes are said to have been hanged for no other offence than being in possession of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation—I say, unless proclamation policy, it is, therefore, as certain as any future contingency can be, that in the former case, the whole body of Slaveholders, in the latter, those which remained in the Union, would close with the offer of compensation, and thus, by the combined operation of the two measures, emancipation within the limits of the Union would be complete.

driven to desperation by measures of atrocity such as these—the probability is they will act much as cattle would act, to which a door of escape was suddenly opened from barbarous treatment by cruel masters. When the opportunity offers, they will probably fly to the Federal lines. This is what their instinct will naturally teach them; it was what they did when the war commenced; but then the war was conducted according to the principles of the Constitution; and the fugitives from slavery, with a punctiliousness of constitutional honour which, perhaps, has no parallel in history, were sent back to serve the masters, against whom those who dismissed them were fighting. But this can happen no more. The attempt to carry on war on constitutional principles has been definitively abandoned. The proclamation has superseded the Constitution. The Federal lines will henceforth become for the negro a sure harbour of refuge; and, judging from what has already occurred, and from what we know of human nature, the result will probably be a grand stampede of all the negroes within reach of that retreat. That is the practical result which I expect from the proclamation; and it is obvious with what consequences it will be fraught. Let the North but maintain its ground for a sufficient time in Southern soil, and the industrial system of the Confederacy will crumble beneath its feet. The blood-cemented edifice will be undermined, and will totter to its fall. That, I say, is what the proclamation appears to me calculated to effect: what will actually happen is what no human eye can foresee. That isolated instances of outrage and murder will occur is indeed but too probable. The devil does not leave the body without rending it. Nay, if the infernal policy, of which to-day a specimen is recorded, is pursued, it is indeed fearful to think of the consequences which may be in store for that wretched country—consequences by which even the predictions of the *Times* may, for once, be fulfilled. But if this be the course which events are

to take—if Southern slave-masters, in their guilty fear, are to commence a wholesale carnage of innocent men, then, I say, their blood be upon their own head, and as they have sown the wind, let them reap the whirl-wind.

But once again, there is a lion in the path—I encounter another difficulty. What is to be done with these four millions of negro slaves? I answer this question by another—what is to be done with the eight millions of negro slaves, which, if the policy of the South be successful, these four millions will in twenty years become? I know not what plan the North may adopt. I do not pretend to be able to produce a scheme in which an acute pro-slavery critic may not find a flaw; but I hold that, whatever be the difficulties of the case, these difficulties will not be diminished by postponing the remedy. Besides, this is not the first time that the attempt has been made to frighten England from the path of duty with the bugbear of emancipated negroes. The most frightful picture of negro freedom which the prolific imaginations of Southern sympathizers have yet conjured up, might easily be matched from the store-house of predictions uttered by those who, at the last great emancipation struggle, played the diviner's part. Notwithstanding these gloomy auguries, however, emancipation in the West Indies has been a brilliant success. From the morning of emancipation down to the present moment, although the black population always far outnumbered the white, not one attempt at insurrection has been made, not one barbarous outrage has been committed; and the descendants of those negroes who, we were told, would only work under the lash, are now the industrious denizens of a thriving community. In the midst of the clouds which now lower around us, I take comfort from that fact. I am unable to reason out the consequences, I cannot penetrate the gloom, but I am convinced that the slave system in America is the greatest curse which has yet darkened the earth, and I believe that the blow which effectually breaks it up must be a blessing.

Finally, I shall be asked, where is this carnage to end? To what purpose is this tremendous sacrifice of human life? Is the conquest of the South possible? and is its permanent subjection to the North either possible or desirable? I, for my part, have never thought so, and I do not think so now. The restoration of the Union in its former proportions appears to me, I confess, absolutely chimerical; and, if I mistake not, indications may even now be discerned that this conviction begins to force itself on the minds of the Northern leaders. But, granting that the South cannot be permanently conquered, does it follow that it is impossible to defeat its present designs? Does it follow that it is impossible to stay the plague of slavery—to recover large districts in the Border States, already substantially free—to throw back the destroyer behind the barrier of the Mississippi? The impossibility of this has not yet been proved, and until it has been proved, I for one cannot raise my voice for peace. Another year of war such as has now been passed, or rather of war waged on possibly a grander scale, and certainly with far fiercer passions, is, indeed, an awful prospect; but the future of a Slave Power, extending its dominion over half a continent, consigning a whole race of men to utter and hopeless ruin, menacing civilization on all sides—this is a prospect which to my mind is more fearful still.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to set forth what appear to me the grand principles in conflict in the American Revolution; and the scope of my remarks has gone to show that the cause of the North is substantially the cause of humanity and civilization. I should, however, be thoroughly misconceived if it were supposed that I was not fully sensible of much that is open to censure in the conduct of the Northern people. There has been, no doubt, much incompetency, much hesitancy in the path of duty, no small amount of hectoring, many acts of petty tyranny, and on the part of one

general, some effusions of brutal insolence.* Nay, I will go further than this; and I do not scruple to say that the principles held by one large party in the Northern States, are, in my judgment, as detestable as any which prevail in the councils of the South. I mean the Northern democratic

* For it is only fair to remember that "brutal insolence" is the worst that can be charged even against Butler—the one shameful exception to the general military administration of the North. Sanguinary he is not, only two executions having taken place during his occupation of New Orleans, of which one was the execution of a Federal soldier for plundering Confederate property. "It is not," says Ex-Governor Moorehead, "that the proclamation has been actually carried out, but it is the disgrace which he has attempted to heap upon the whole female population there."

Since the above was written, the intelligence has reached this country of an act of cold-blooded atrocity perpetrated at Palmyra by a Federal general—the deliberate murder of ten Confederate prisoners. No language can be too strong to stigmatize such acts, which, let us hope, will receive in the North the same meed of execration which they will assuredly meet with in Europe. Had the *Times*, in its recent article on this occurrence, contented itself with expressing the horror with which the act is universally regarded, or, in case it chose to indulge in moral reflection, had it dealt out impartial reprobation on such acts by whatever party committed, it would have simply done its duty, and would have deserved the thanks of all good men. Neither of these courses, however, suited the views of the *Times*. It could not miss the opportunity of improving the occasion, in order to make a point for its Southern friends. It accordingly winds up its comments on the transaction, with the following remarks. "It is better, far better, to suffer such atrocities than to inflict them. Hitherto the Confederates have fought like brave men, and, in this respect, have the sympathy of all men of right feeling throughout the world." The *Times* can scarcely be ignorant that, only the other day, the telegram announced that seventeen negroes had been hanged in cold blood by the Southern authorities. Does it regard this as conduct which deserves "the sympathy of all men of right feeling throughout the world?" Nor can it well fail either to be ignorant of the disclosures which have lately been made respecting the mode in which the war is conducted in the Southern States. At a meeting of refugees from the South held the other day in New York, one speaker, the Rev. Mr. Owen of Mississippi thus described his experiences:—"He had got here on the underground rail-

party—the party which has long been the lacquey of the South, and is now anxious to resume its menial duties—the party which, by the inhuman spirit it displays towards the coloured race, as in Illinois and Wisconsin, brings down dis-

way. He had been heavily ironed, and placed with eighty other prisoners in a loathsome dungeon, the charge against him being that he had talked Union talk. Many were led out to execution. At first they provided coffins for those who were executed; but they gave that up, and simply had holes dug, to which the condemned persons were led and shot through the brain. His doom was to be by hanging, because he was regarded as an arch traitor. He had preached a sermon in which he told the congregation to oppose secession by talking against it, by writing against it, and, if need be, by fighting against it. He escaped once from prison but was retaken, having been hunted by rebel cavalry and bloodhounds. The second time that he escaped from prison he took care to leave no particle of clothing behind him, so that the bloodhounds could not get his scent. His fellow-prisoners aided his escape. They had appointed him their chaplain. He had suffered greatly from starvation, and was almost emaciated when he reached the Federal lines. He gave a narrative of his adventures, mentioning one horrible fact that came to his knowledge. A Union man in Mississippi, named Newman, was seized by a party of rebel cavalry. They debated how they would dispose of him. Some advocated hanging, and some were in favor of shooting; but finally they procured scalding water, and scalded him to death. They then hung up the corpse and put a label on the breast, stating that whoever should take it down and bury it would be served in the same way. The men who aided in his (Mr. Owens') escape, did, however, come by night and cut down and buried the corpse." Again in the *Daily News* of Saturday last I find the following. "A despatch from Louisville states that at Cumberland Ford the Confederates recently hung Captain King of Lincoln County, Kentucky, formerly of the third Kentucky regiment, his two sons, mere youths, and twelve other Unionists." The *Times* would fain persuade the public that Southern outrages have the palliation of being reprisals, while those committed by the Northerners are gratuitous atrocities. If such acts admitted of palliation at all, which they do not, the truth would be about the reverse of this. It is perfectly notorious that, before the war broke out, no man's life or liberty was secure in the Southern States whose views on the question of slavery were considered unsound. Numbers, in flagrant violation of the Constitution, were expelled for this reason by vigilance committees,

honour on the Northern cause—the party which the *Times* Newspaper is now straining every nerve to support. I say that, so far as this Northern party is concerned, I can find no distinction between it and its Southern patrons, unless it be the distinction between the bold unscrupulous tyrant, and the sycophant, no less unscrupulous, who, for the protection of his countenance and the bribe of his pay, is content to do that tyrant's bidding. Into these incidents—the eddies from the main current of the movement—I have been unable to enter. I have been obliged to confine myself to the few salient facts which mark the general direction of the tide. And, with those facts in view, I ask you, can you feel any doubt as to what that direction is? Have I not said enough to show that, amid much that is dark and discouraging in the present aspect of American society, a process of regeneration is at work, that a dawn of promise has been disclosed, that a grand and healthy reaction has set in. For the last forty years the course of the United States as a nation has been a retrograde course. That is what we all recognize. And to what are we to attribute this decline? To democracy? I am no admirer of American democracy; but in all the worst features of the past political life of America I can trace the working of a principle, the reverse of democracy. Democracy has supplied the machinery of government, but that machinery has been worked by a Slave Power, and for the purposes of slavery. Democracy in America has never yet had a fair chance. No, I trace the national decline to something with which, where it exists, anything but and not a few were lynched, and all the recent evidence goes to show, what, indeed, there was no need of evidence to prove, that since the war broke out terrorism has risen to a still more fearful height, and that wholesale murder is now common. This is no palliation for such acts as that just recorded to have taken place in Missouri; but before “men of right feeling” are beguiled of their “sympathy” in favour of “murderers and ruffians,” it is important they should know how the case really stands.

decline is impossible—to complicity with a great sin. There may be other causes, but I believe that this is the grand and fundamental cause. Slavery, acting on an extraordinary material prosperity, has sent a rot through the whole body politic. But the crisis of the disease has arrived. Symptoms of returning health begin to show themselves. The principle of evil has, indeed, still a strong hold of his victim, but he is visibly relaxing his grasp. If you require proof, look to the progress which anti-slavery sentiment has made within the last year—look to the practical results of that progress in the benevolent mission to Port Royal to provide for fugitive negroes—look lastly, at the feeling which the proclamation of emancipation has called forth. The friends of slavery predicted that the proclamation would shiver the North into fragments. On the contrary, it is rapidly uniting all that is best and most hopeful in the Northern people, rallying them to a common principle, and, under the glow of a healthy enthusiasm, welding them into a single mass. At such a time as this, is it for England to see only the difficulties of the problem—to be nice in scrutinizing motives, and, in her anxiety lest emancipation should be accomplished in some unorthodox fashion—lest it should be dictated by some principle less sublime than the purest philanthropy, to throw the whole weight of her splendid influence into the scale of the slave holder? I cannot think so. I cannot believe that this unnatural infatuation for a Slave Power is destined to be a permanent attachment. It is but a transient passion, the offspring of pique and anger, from which ere long she will shake herself free. Yet a little, and she will resume her older and better character, as the England of Clarkson and Wilberforce, the emancipator of slaves, the champion of the oppressed, and the friend of freedom in every form, and in every quarter of the globe.

THE END.

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DELIVERED BEFORE THE DUBLIN YOUNG MENS' CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND
IRELAND, OCTOBER 30th, 1862.

BY

JOHN ELLIOTT CAIRNES, A. M.,

PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY;
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1862.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

* IT IS with feelings of no ordinary diffidence that I appear before you this evening—diffidence inspired at once by the distinguished audience in whose presence I find myself, and by the topic which I have undertaken to treat. I am not ignorant that I now address an audience whose ears have become familiar with strains of eloquence such as I can have no pretension to offer you, and I know that I have to deal with a topic not only of extreme difficulty and delicacy, but one respecting which the sympathies of the public have already taken a decided course, and that course in the direction, I deeply regret to think, the reverse of that in which my own sympathies run. So strongly, indeed, do I feel the force of this consideration, that were I to consult my own tastes merely, the revolution in America is certainly not the subject which I should have selected for this occasion. It has, however, been intimated to me that it is the wish of your Association that I should address you upon this question (hear); and under these circumstances, the question being one to which I have given some study, I do not conceive that I should be justified in resisting your very flattering request. I propose, therefore, to bring under your attention this evening the revolution in America (hear). I undertake the task—I say it with the most unaffected sincerity—with a profound sense of my own utter inability to do justice, but still with the hope that I may say enough to induce those who hear me to reconsider their opinions (hear), and I add, in the full confidence that I shall receive at your hands that indulgence which an honest attempt to state the truth on an important subject seldom fails to meet from an Irish audience. And here, at the outset, I think it will conduce to a clearer comprehension of what is to follow if I state frankly the conclusions which I have myself come to respecting the matter in hand. I hold, then, that the present convulsion in America is the natural fruit and inevitable consequence of the existence of slavery in that continent (hear); and as slavery has been the cause of the outbreak, so I conceive slavery is the stake which is really at issue in the struggle. I hold that the success of the North means, if not the immediate emancipation of slaves, at least the immediate arrest of slavery (hear), with the certainty of its ultimate extinction; and, on the other hand, that the success of the South means the establishment of slavery on a broader and firmer basis than has hitherto sustained it, with its future indefinite extension. I hold, moreover, that the form of society which has been reared on slavery in the Southern States is substantially a new fact in history, being at once in its nature retrograde and aggressive—retrograde as regards the constituents which compose it, and aggressive as regards all other forms of social life with which it may come into contact,—a system of society which combines the strength of civilization with all the evil instincts of barbarism (hear). Such, as I conceive, is the phenomenon now presented by the Southern Confederacy; and the struggle which we witness is but the effort of this new and formidable monster to disengage itself from the restraints which free society, in self-defense, was drawing around it, in order to secure for its development a free and unbounded field (hear). Such, in a few words, are the con-

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

clusions at which I have arrived on this momentous matter. I shall now proceed to state, as succinctly as I can, the considerations by which I have been led to them. I maintain, then, in the first place, that the war has had its origin in slavery, and in support of this statement I appeal to the whole past history of the United States, and to the explicit declarations of the Confederate leaders themselves. What has been the history of the United States for the last fifty years? It has been little more than a record of aggressions made by the power which represents slavery, feebly and almost always unsuccessfully resisted by the free States, and culminating in the present war. The question at issue between the North and the South is constantly stated here as if it was the North which was the aggressive party, as if the North had been pursuing towards the Southern people a career of encroachment and oppression which reached its climax in Mr. Lincoln's election, and as if the act of secession was but an act of self-defense forced upon a people whose measure of humiliation was full. Now the facts of the case are precisely the reverse of all this. It is not the North but the South which virtually for the last half century has been the dominant influence in the nation (hear). Southern men, and the nominees of Southern men, have filled the Presidential chair. Southern men have monopolized the offices of the State, represented the country at foreign Courts, and guided the policy of the nation (hear). The whole course of domestic legislation in the United States, from the year 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was passed, down to the year of its repeal, and from its repeal to the latest act of Mr. Buchanan's Government, has been directed to the same end—the aggrandizement of Southern interests and the consolidation of the slave-power (hear). Such as its domestic policy has been, so also has been its foreign policy in the annexation of Texas, in the conquest of half of Mexico, in the lawless attempts on Cuba, in the invasion of peaceable States in Central America, in the defense of the slave trade against British cruisers. Everywhere the same aggressive spirit has been at work, employing now intrigue, now violence, now making filibustering raids, now waging open war, but always in favor of the same cause—Slavery.

PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE INSTITUTION.

This has been the history of the United States for the last half-century. Observe with what results. In 1790, three years after the nation was established, the Slave States comprised 250,000 square miles; in 1860 that area had grown to 851,000 square miles. In 1790 the entire number of slaves in the United States was less than three-quarters of a million; in 1860 that number had increased to upwards of 4,000,000 (hear, hear). Such has been the material progress of the Southern institution. Still more striking has been its progress as a political and social power (hear, hear). When the nation was founded slavery was dying out in the North, and was regarded as doomed in the South. It was tolerated, no doubt, in consideration of the important interests which it involved, but tolerated with shame. Its very name was excluded from the public documents, and the thing itself was absolutely prohibited from all places in which it was not already established, and branded as at variance with the fundamental principles of the republic. Such was the position of slavery when the Union was founded; what is its position when the Union is dissolved? It is no longer treated with mere local toleration, as an exceptional, tabooed system. It claims a free career over the whole continent, and aspires to be the basis of a new order of political fabric, and boldly puts itself forth as a model for the imitation of the world. The struggle, therefore, which now convulses America is not the struggle of an oppressed people rising against their oppressors, but

the revolt of a party which has long ruled the great Republic, to retrieve by arms a political defeat—the rising of the representatives of a principle which for half a century has been steadily aggressive, to cement a long series of triumphs by a last effective blow (hear, hear).

I. OBJECTS OF THE SOUTH.

I have said that the purposes of the Southern revolt is to establish a new system of government, of which slavery is to be the basis. This statement is, I am aware, vehemently denied in this country, but on this point I must ask you to decide for yourselves between the declarations of the Confederate leaders and those who on this side of the Atlantic advocate their cause. I hold in my hand a paper of much significance; it is entitled “The Philosophy of Despotism,” and is from the pen of an eminent Southern, the Hon. L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, a man who has taken a prominent part in the transactions of the last few years, and who is now editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, one of the most influential, if not the most influential paper in the South. He represented Charleston in the celebrated South Carolina Convention, which gave the first watchword of secession, and the confidence which was reposed in him by the people of South Carolina was shown in his selection as one of the committee appointed by that State to set forth its views before the Convention which subsequently met in the South. Mr. Spratt, occupying this position, may, I think, state the views of the South with some authority. Let us hear then, what, according to Mr. Spratt, is the purpose of the South:—

“The South,” he states, “is now in the formation of a Slave Republic. This, perhaps is not admitted generally. There are many contented to believe that the South, as a geographical section, is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no especial truth—pregnant of no distinct social nature; that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that, for reasons equally insufficient, there is disagreement between the peoples that direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of co-existence, but as mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear, is an inadequate conception of the controversy. The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together, and practise yet in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life. But the real contest is between the two forms of society which have become established, the one at the North and the other at the South. Society is essentially different from Government—as different as is the nut from the bur, or the nervous body of the shell fish from the bony structure which surrounds it; and within this government two societies had become developed, as variant in structure and distinct in form as any two beings in animated nature. The one is a society composed of one race, the other of two races. The one is bound together but by the two great social relations of husband and wife and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, and parent and child, and master and slave. The one embodies in its political structure the principle that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man, expands upon the horizontal plane of pure democracy; the other, embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. Such

are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union. And the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other; neither could expand within the forms of a single government without encroachment on the other. Slavery was within the grasp of the Northern States, and forced to the option of extinction in the Union or of independence out, it dares to strike, and it asserts its claim to nationality and its right to recognition among the leading social systems of the world. Such, then, being the nature of the contest, this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself."

The object of the South is to found a Slave Republic—a Republic which has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. But, before leaving this subject, there is one point on which I would wish you to hear the opinion of Mr. Spratt. It is with reference to the position taken by the Confederacy on the slave-trade. We all know that the Montgomery Convention, in drawing up the Constitution, introduced a clause prohibiting this trade. There are people in this country desirous to regard this as conclusive as to the views of Southern leaders on this subject. But in the history of the Southern people, and all the circumstances under which this constitution was drawn up, I confess I for one have considerable doubts as to the *bona fide* character of these prohibitions, and these have not been removed by the speculations of Mr. Spratt. "Then why adopt this measure?" says he. "Is it that Virginia and the other Border States require it? They merely require it now, but is it certain they will continue to require it? . . . It may be said," he continues, "that without such general restriction the value of their slaves will be diminished in the markets of the West. They have no right to ask that their slaves or any other products shall be protected to an unnatural value in the markets of the West. If they persist in regarding the negro but as a thing of trade, a thing which they are too good to use, but only can produce for others' uses, and join the Confederacy, as Pennsylvania or Massachusetts might do, not to support the structure, but to profit by it, it were as well they should not join, and we can find no interest in such association." And then, referring to what was well understood by the prohibitory clause, the power to conciliate European support, Mr. Spratt says:—"They (the European States) will submit to any terms of intercourse with the slave republic in consideration of its markets and its products. An increase of slaves will increase the market and supply. They will pocket their philanthropy and the profits together." Further he says:—"I was the single advocate of the slave-trade in 1853; *it is now the question of time.*" So far from the representative man of the leading Secession State, South Carolina, the exponent of the philosophy of Secession. I will only ask you to listen to one authority more. It is the Vice-President of the Southern Confederation, Mr. A. H. Stephens. "The ideas entertained at the formation of the new Constitution were that the enslavement of the African race was foreign to the laws of nature,—that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. Our new Government is founded on exactly opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the sacred truth that the negro is not one with the white man—that subordination to the superior race is his native condition. Thus our Government stands the first in the world based upon this great philosophical and moral truth. . . . This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, has become the chief corner-stone in our new edifice." We are told by the advocates of a recognition of the South in this country that we need not be deterred from this course by the consideration that the South is a slave power. "A slave power!" they exclaim: "Was not the United States a slave power? Are not Spain and the Brazils slave powers, and why should

we become fastidious now?" This is the position taken by the admirers of the South in England, but not that taken by the Southerners themselves. "Our new Government," says the Vice-President of the Confederacy, "is founded on exactly opposite ideas. This is the first Government in the history of the world based upon this great philosophical and moral truth." Slavery has before existed, but has never before been taken as the corner-stone of an empire, as set forth by its own Vice-President. The South shelters slavery, and constitutes itself undeniably the one slave power in the world. I say this, that the present convulsion has existed in the exigencies of slavery, and that the struggle which succeeded is a consequence of slave policy. A year or two ago I should have thought that, having established this, I should have certainly established my case; but really it seems to me that a singular change has passed over the minds of my countrymen upon this subject. I do not mean to say that there is any considerable number of persons in this country or present audience who regard slavery with positive favor, but I do say that public feeling on this subject is not what it used to be. I find a disposition among public men and influential organs of public opinion to palliate this aspect of the case. A tone of apology is taken towards slavery to which British laws have not been accustomed. "The negroes," says the *Saturday Review*, in a recent number, "have been slaves for centuries. They are used to slavery, and for the most part contented with it. They are plentifully fed—the food is cheap; and they are well housed, as race-horses and hunters are housed in this country, because they are costly chattels. They are as well clothed as the time requires. In a word, the majority of them have no grievance whatever, except in the fact that they are slaves—a grievance which they think not worth speaking of, and one which few of them are thoughtful enough to feel." In other words, four millions of the African race,—a race capable, —as we know from the testimony of competent witnesses of their condition in the West Indies, from the result of the negro schools in New England, and from occasional instances which come under our own observation,—not merely of feeling the obligation to perform the duties of rational creatures, but of receiving a very considerable amount of intellectual information,—four millions of these people, at least capable of human discrimination, have, under the system of the South, been reduced to the condition merely of simple brutes. This is the cool admission of a writer who seeks, in the description I have quoted, to conciliate public favor towards the institution he thus describes. But my present hearers will, I doubt not, disclaim the morality of the *Saturday Review*. Public sentiment on this, as on many other subjects, is not yet linked to the original and advanced opinions of that enterprising paper (applause). Well, it is important to know the extreme point which the wave has yet touched; and if opinion has not reached the length of the passage I have quoted, I think most candid persons will admit that it has at least been moving in that direction. Do we not hear on all hands that negroes are well cared for, that the men of the South are a chivalrous set of men, and that the system is a patriarchal one? A disclaimer is introduced, but then and there we are warned against being carried away by old-fashioned enthusiasms. But what is the character of slavery as it exists? It is a system under which men and women, boys and girls, are exposed, like cattle in the market-place, to be bought and sold. It is a system under which a whole race of men are deprived of all the rights and privileges of rational creatures, and consigned to a life of toil, in order that another race may live in idleness. It is a system under which we are told the negroes are perfectly contented, but from which they are constantly escaping, in spite of blood-hounds and man-hunters. Call it a paradise if you will, but it is one from which its denizens escape to the Dismal

Swamp,—it is one which, if once left, no negro is anxious to regain (applause). Under this system the human being convicted of no crime may, in strict conformity to the law, be flogged at the discretion of his fellow man, who may kill him with the lash without enduring any penalty for the murder. Under this system human beings may be, as they have been in several instances, burned alive. All property is for the negro contraband. Knowledge is made a penal offence. The marriage tie is not in legal recognition, and is regarded with no practical respect. Nay, it is worse than this, for the laws permit fathers to enslave and sell their own children; and there are fathers in the Southern States who practically avail themselves of this law. Do you doubt this? Account, then, for the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons, many of them scarcely darker than Europeans, who form a large proportion of the slaves born in the South? From what source is that white blood blended in their veins but from the men who commit their own flesh and blood to the charge of the overseer, or, worse still, to the slave-dealer? This is an aspect of things which I would have passed by, but in the present state the effects are too serious to be blinked at by the people of this country, who achieved renown by freeing themselves from this curse.

“CHIVALRY” OF THE SOUTH.

We hear much in these times of the “chivalry” of the South. The Southerners, we are told, are gentlemen, and on this ground are contrasted favorably with the North. I shall certainly not deny that the wealthier classes of the South possess in a high degree those qualities which the principle of caste tends to engender—pride, courage, loyalty to the interests of their order, capacity for Government, and perseverance in a fixed course of policy. Nay, even as regards the chivalry and gentility—things about which our notions generally are somewhat vague—I shall not undertake to say that the South does not possess them. I only ask you to remember that the chivalry and gentility of the Southern is not incompatible with the systematic appropriation of the fruits of another’s labor, with laying the whip over the shoulders of women, with acts which called down on Marshal Haynau the indignation of the London draymen (hear, hear), with turning one’s own flesh and blood to pecuniary profit, or, to give a practical illustration, with such deeds as that committed by a Southern gentleman on the person of Mr. Sumner. Mr. Sumner is one of the few public men of the United States who, in moral character and intellectual attainments, is worthy to take his place among the scholars, orators, and statesmen of Europe. In 1856, when opposing the introduction of slavery into Kansas, he made in the Senate of the United States one of the most powerful speeches ever delivered in a deliberative assembly, and in this speech he denounced the policy of the slave power in language plain and outspoken, but which did not pass what in this country is considered the legitimate limit of parliamentary debate. How did the chivalrous South take its revenge? Two days afterwards, as Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk, engaged in writing a letter, with his head bent over his paper, he was approached by Mr. Brooks, a representative of South Carolina, who said, “I have read your speech; it is a libel on the South;” and forthwith, while the words were yet passing from his lips, and before Mr. Sumner could rise from his seat, he commenced a succession of blows on his bare head with a heavy cane. Mr. Sumner was stunned, and fell to the floor. His assailant stood over him and continued the assault. Blow after blow fell upon his defenceless head. There were senators of the South present, and one from the North, Mr. Douglass, of Illinois, a Democrat, and a close ally of the South, but there was no interference. One old man, indeed, did interfere a little towards the close, but for that little he was threatened with chastisement on the

spot. Mr. Brooks only desisted just before murder was accomplished. Such is the mode in which the chivalrous South avenges its grievances. But the most important point in reference to the attack on Mr. Sumner was the manner in which it was received by the Southern people. Not one Press south of the Potomac condemned the act—not one man, not one public body. Not one word of rebuke came from any quarter of the South. On the contrary, it was adopted and approved by all—recognized as a policy and a system; and not only the men, but the women of the South combined to heap commendations, honors, and rewards upon the perpetrator. So far as to the character, object, and aims of the Southern Confederacy.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE SOUTH.

Let me now endeavor to explain the political movement which has brought the Free States and the South into collision. And here you will, of course, understand that I cannot pretend to do more than give the barest outline of the case. At every step I must leave difficulties unsolved and objections unanswered. I only ask you to believe that, if I do so, it is not because I feel them to be either insoluble or unanswerable, but simply because the limits of time during which I can occupy your attention require that I should confine myself to those points which are indispensable towards comprehending the drift and meaning of the whole. To understand the influences which now agitate the North, and assist you to appreciate the consequence of the part the North has acted in this great drama, and the results towards which it is tending, the first fact to be considered is, that the movement of which we now contemplate the results,—the movement which carried Lincoln to power,—was a reaction against the influences which had been previously predominant in the Union, which had controlled almost the whole of its past policy. From 1820 to 1860 the Government of the United States has, with the exception of a few short intervals, been in the hands of the party composed of Southern politicians, and of that section of the North which for political purposes may be regarded as Southern—the Northern Democrats. Of this political combination I do not overstate the case when I say that the leading idea, the comparative aim, almost the single purpose, was to extend slavery, and to achieve political power by extending it. Under the influence of this party public morality in America has deteriorated as public morality never before deteriorated in any country in the same space of time (hear). The race of political men has declined, political honesty is scarcely to be found. Politics has become a by-word. In spite of a material prosperity which astonished the world, America, in all moral qualities, in all the qualities which adorn a nation, has rapidly retrograded. Down to 1855 this tendency to retrograde met with no serious obstruction, but in that year the evil began to work its own cure. The excesses of the dominant party awoke some of the best minds in the United States to a sense of the fearful career along which it was hurrying, and the certain ruin which was ahead. A reaction took place, and a new party was formed. It was this party which carried Lincoln to power. It is the same which is now rapidly transforming the whole policy of the Republic. The principles of the Republican party are such as the opponents of the policy of the South necessarily ought to have.

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

The question at issue in the vast contest respecting slavery in this rebellion has not been as frequently supposed in this country, whether slavery should be abolished or perpetuated, but whether it should be restricted to its present limits or extended over the entire of the Union. Down to the present hour, or, more correctly,

down to the recent proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, no considerable politician proposed to interfere with slavery in the States where it was already established, and the efforts of the party opposed to slavery on the one hand, and of the slavery party on the other, have been directed exclusively to the "Territories." I must explain the peculiar signification which the word "Territory" bears in the United States, and the political nomenclature of the United States. A Territory does not signify, as with us, whole acres of country, but only that portion which has not yet been brought under the control of state Governments. Accordingly, "Territory," in the political discussions of the United States, is opposed to "State," the State being, for all local purposes, under its own Government, while a "Territory," having no local Government, comes directly under the cognizance and control of the Federal authority. The Territories are, in short, the unsettled portions, and include those vast regions which stretch away to the Pacific. These it is which form the question between slavery and freedom.

When the Union was founded the slave interest was content with a small local toleration—it made no claim to extension beyond its existing limits. In proof of this I need only point to a region which then corresponded to the word Territories, but is now comprised in the Free States, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. These had been ceded to the Central Government by Virginia, the most powerful of the slave States, and the ordinance providing for its government was drawn up by Jefferson, a Southern slave-owner. If the slave party at that time considered that it had any claims, this was a case in which it could be advanced, the territory in question having been originally the property of a slave State, and the statesman to whom the preparation of a Charter for its government was intrusted had been a native of that State. No such claim was advanced. On the contrary a clause was introduced into the ordinance which forever prohibited the introduction of slavery into the Territory. I say, therefore, at the outset of the history of the United States, the slavery party were content to remain within the existing limits, and advanced no pretensions on the unsettled Territory of the nation. At an early period of the present century, however, we find that, with the extension of the cotton cultivation, slavery interests grew in proportion, and, in 1818, the pretension was openly advanced to carry slavery into the Territories. The first attempt was the demand to admit Missouri as a slave State. A violent opposition was given, and the result was the "Missouri Compromise," by which the slavery party gained their object—the admission of Missouri, but with the provision that in future slavery should not be introduced beyond a certain parallel of latitude. This was the first triumph of the Southern party—the division of the Republic into free and slave Territories (hear, hear). Such was the position of the question till 1820, at which time the entire Territory, which, under the Missouri Compromise, fell to the South, having been appropriated. The next step was to endeavor to break the Missouri Compromise. The Missouri Compromise was therefore denounced by the South as unjust. It was urged that the proper parties to determine the question of slavery or no slavery in the Territories were not the Federal Government but the settlers. A bill recognizing this principle, which was justly called the "Squatter sovereignty," was passed in the year 1854,—a bill by which the unsettled lands were virtually thrown open, to be scrambled for by the contending parties. This was the second triumph in the career of aggression. The Territories were now all thrown open to slavery throughout their whole extent. The results expected, however, were not realized. The measure of 1854, though it throw open the Territories to slavery, did not actually establish it, but left it to be decided by the settlers, and it turned out that in the absence of busi-

ness of colonization the slave States were no match for the free (hear, hear). Thus, in Kansas, in spite of every intrigue on the part of the slave party, their defeat was ignominious and complete (hear). The theory of the squatter sovereignty was, therefore, laid aside, and in its place a new doctrine propounded; it was said that slave property had a right to be recognized as such by the Constitution,—that, if property at all, it was as much so in one part of the Union as in another,—that the first duty of Government was to protect property wherever its jurisdiction extended; and the conclusion drawn from those premises was that it was the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery in all parts of the Union—in the Territories as well as in the States, and in the Free States as well as in the Slave (hear).

This was the last culminating pretension of the slave power: it amounted to nothing less than a demand to convert the whole Union into one grand slave-holding domain. Not only was the pretension advanced, but important steps were taken to make it good. By dint of packing in the courts of justice, with Southern partisans, a decision was obtained called the Dred Scott Decision, which fully bore out the views of the slavery party. So far as the law was concerned, the triumph of the South was accomplished. It was laid down by the highest authority that in the eye of the law there was no difference between a slave and a horse, and, as a man may take his horse where he pleases through the Union, and as the Government was bound to protect him, so he might take his slave where he pleased, and had the same right to be maintained in possession. Something more was wanted to make good the slave party. They had need of a Government to act upon the principle thus vindicated. This power they were resolved to obtain at the next Presidential election; and it was because they failed in this object that Secession was proclaimed (great applause). So that you have now before you the source of aggression against which the Free States now league. As the ground of the South was the extension of slavery, so the ground taken by the North was its non-extension. I say non-extension, not the abolition of slavery, for the Constitution had guaranteed slavery in the States in which it existed, and it was not part of the policy of the Republican party to violate the Constitution. Slavery, therefore, in the States was not directly threatened, but it was declared that, for the future, slavery should be excluded from all the Territories of the Republic. It was upon this position that Mr. Lincoln was raised to power, and it was because it triumphed that the South seceded. We have now traced the history of this movement up to the point when the South was breaking out. I will ask you now to follow me while I indicate the course of the Northern policy, under the aid of the Republican party, since that time. When the news of the outbreak first reached this country, as you will remember, the feeling of the public, though not of an energetic character on the whole—went for the North, it being understood that a contest was about to break out between the free and slave States, and that the object of the North was to put down slavery. One of President Lincoln's first acts on entering on the Government was to declare that he had no intention to interfere with slavery where it was established. Upon hearing this, public opinion at once veered about. It was then assumed that the war was unconnected with slavery, and our sympathies, under the skilful guidance of secessionists in England, were carried round to the Southern side. In view, now, of the facts of the case, I ask you if our early expectation was not unreasonable, and I will not shrink to also ask you if our moderate calculations were not unjust. We expected the North to throw itself into the struggle against slavery, but upon what grounds? The abolition of slavery in the States where it was established had never been any part of the Northern programme. The Repub-

lican party had always disavowed this, and declared its determination to abide by the Constitution. I think I might go further and ask you whether it would have been wise to have resorted at once to revolutionary measures while the civil war was pending, and while a chance remained of accomplishing an object by peaceful means. But, secondly, I will ask you if our moderate calculation was not unjust. It is true the North only took up arms to defend the Constitution—the Constitution under which, in despite of its furtherance of the purposes of a pro-slavery party, it enjoyed a career of at least material prosperity. It took up arms to maintain a Union which gave to the American people the *status* of a great Power in the world. These were undoubtedly the reasons which inspired the Northern rising. Nevertheless, I have always contended, and recent experience has certainly not induced me to change my mind, that the war, whatever might be the issue which might be joined, was in essence an anti-slavery war (applause).

If I knew that the Union which the North resolved to defend was only endangered by the exigencies of slavery, I knew that the South demanded secession for no other purpose than to spread slavery over the length and breadth of tropical America; and therefore I felt confident that, this being the chief object of the struggle, it was to this issue that the war must ultimately come. What light has experience thrown on the question? I ask you to look to the effects of the present combat. In March last President Lincoln issued a proclamation inviting the State Governors to advise a plan of emancipation, and passed an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia; later again a still more important act—the exclusion forever of slavery from the Territories; and, lastly, we can point to the recent treaty with Great Britain conceding the right of search of Federal ships, and this at once effected what had hitherto been an idle protest—the blockade of the African coast. These have been the achievements of the North,—achievements any one of which is sufficient to give a distinct anti-slavery character to the policy of the Federal Government, achievements which will bear fruit, and cause happiness and prosperity to future generations of American people, when all this slave-trade has passed away and been forgotten (applause). Such, up to the present time, has been the course of the American revolution, but within the last month the policy of the North has undergone a radical change. The anti-slavery measures and all the other measures possess this character, that they are strictly constitutional. But, to give them effect there was need of something more than the Act of Congress. The South has taken up arms for a slave Congress, and nothing short of a military defeat of the South would bring it to terms. That was the essential conditional to the success of the new policy on which the North had entered. I confess I am one of those who conceive that the fulfilment of this condition—the defeat, not the permanent subjugation of the South—might have been accomplished without having recourse to any other measures than those already put in force; but highly as I was disposed to view the military prowess of the Confederates—formidable as I thought it, I confess their advantages have exceeded my expectations; and, after the experience of the present year, I see no chance of their being effectually humbled except by an appeal, on the Northern side, to principles more powerful than any yet invoked (applause); for it has been well said that while the South has enjoyed the full advantage of the awful principles of slavery, the North has only availed itself partially and with hesitation. The cause of slavery, decidedly asserted and logically carried out, has rallied the whole Southern population to the centre of secession; while the North, substantially fighting the cause of freedom, but fettered by the Constitution, has hitherto shrunk from making appeals to those sentiments which freedom inspires. To give a practical illustration of the

difficulties which the North experiences : while the South does not hesitate to avail itself of the services of the negroes, either in the camp or on the plantation, the North has not taken advantage of them. What then? Is freedom to succumb? Is the North to lay down its arms? Is it to accept of the peace dictated by a triumphant slave power? and are the fairest portions of the New World to be made the field for the propagation of the greatest curse which mankind has yet known? I say, for my part, most emphatically, No, (applause.) Before freedom is pronounced defeated, let it at least have a fair chance. Let it use both its hands. Let it put forth all its power. Let it oppose to the admirers of slavery the whole force of its fair intentions, and this is the resolution which slavery has forced upon the North. I may say slavery has encountered freedom clogged with the provisions of the Constitution.

These have been flung aside, and freedom and slavery find themselves face to face in the deadly combat. But we are told the negroes will rise and perpetrate wholesale and indiscriminate massacres, and a series of Cawnpores will be the result. So says the *Times*. For my own part I have no faith in such predictions. I distrust the source from whence they proceed (hear, hear). I cannot forget that the same authority which now tells us that the negroes are ready to rise in rapine and murder their masters but the other day assured us that they are completely contented, happy, and loyal (applause). I cannot forget that the same censor who now denounces the Northern Government for proclaiming emancipation only a few years ago denounced it with scarcely less force for not proclaiming emancipation. I cannot forget that the same seer who now indulges his imagination in picturing the horrors which freedom will produce has, from the commencement of the war down to the present time, been uttering prophecy after prophecy until we find prophecy after prophecy falsified by the events. I cannot forget that these denunciations proceed from the same generous critic who levelled insults at free America in order to divest her of her prospects. I see, therefore, and I distrust the sources from which these proceed (applause). For my part, I neither believe that the negroes are the contented, loyal beings they are described in one column of the *Times*, nor the ruthless savages they are depicted in the next. I think it will be nearer the truth to say they resemble the harmless cattle in our fields, with an intelligence somewhat more developed, and an instinct of self-interest somewhat stronger; and unless driven to desperation by acts of atrocity, such as that mentioned in the telegrams to-day, which stated that 17 negroes had been hung for having in their possession copies of President Lincoln's proclamation, the probability is that they will act much as cattle, could they but understand the import of the message which is sent to them. When the opportunity offers they will probably fly to the Federal lines. This is what instinct only will teach them. It is what they did when the war commenced, but then the war was conducted on constitutional principles, and the fugitives were sent back to serve the masters against whom those who sent them back were fighting. This can happen no more. The attempt to carry on the war on constitutional principles has been abandoned. The proclamation has superseded this. The Federal lines will henceforth become for the negro a sure harbor of refuge, and, judging from what has already occurred, and what we know of the system, probably the result will be a grand stampede of the negro population. That is the practical result which I expect from the proclamation, and it is a result of vast importance. It will derange the whole internal system of the South, and, by striking at its foundation, undermine the whole edifice. That is what it appears to me the proclamation is calculated to effect. That isolated instances of murder will

occur is indeed probable. The Devil does not leave the body without rending it, and it is, indeed, fearful to think of the consequences which may be in store for the South, consequences by which even the prophecies of the *Times* may for once be fulfilled; but if this be the course which events are to take—if Southern slave masters are, in their guilty fear, to commence a wholesale carnage of innocent men, then, I say, their blood be on their own heads, and those who have sown the wind may reap the whirlwind (applause). But I shall here be asked “Where is this to end—to what purpose is this tremendous sacrifice of human life?” Is the conquest of the South possible (no, no), and is its subjection to the North possible or desirable? (Hear, hear.) I, for my part, have never thought so, and I do not think so now (hear, hear). The restoration of the Union in its former proportions appears to me, I confess, absolutely chimerical; and I have seen indications that this conviction is forcing itself on thoughtful minds in the Northern States. But, granting that the South cannot be permanently conquered, does it follow that it is impossible to stay the plague of slavery, to recover extensive districts in the Border States, already substantially free, to throw back the destroyers behind the barrier of the Mississippi? The impossibility of this has not yet been proved, and till it is, I, for one, cannot raise my voice for peace (hear). Another year of war such as has now been waged, but on possibly a still more tremendous scale, is certainly, there is no doubt, an awful prospect; but the future of a Slave Power extending its dominion over half a continent, consigning a vast race of men to utter and hopeless ruin—this is a prospect which, to my mind, is more fearful still.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavored to set forth what appeared to me the grand principles in conflict in the American Revolution, and the scope of my remarks has gone to show that the course of the North is substantially the cause of humanity and civilization. I should, however, be wholly misconceived if it were supposed I was not fully sensible of much that is open to censure in the conduct of the Northern people (hear). There has been, no doubt, much incompetency, much hesitancy in the path of duty,—no small amount of hesitancy, many acts of petty tyranny, and on the part of one General, effusions of brutal insolence (hear and hisses). I do not scruple to say that the principles held by one large party in the Northern States are as detestable as any that prevail in the South—I refer to the Northern Democratic party, long the lackey of the South, and now anxious to resume its menial duties (hear, hear)—the party which brings down disgrace on the Northern cause—the party which the *Times* newspaper delights to honor (hear). I say, as far as this party is concerned I can find no distinction between it and its Southern patrons, except it is still more despicable (hear). Into the incidents of the movement I have not time to enter. I confine myself to the important facts, and those facts confirm the conclusion I sought to establish, that amidst all that is dark in the principle of American society, a principle of good is at work, a dawn of promise has been disclosed,—a grand healthy reaction has set in (hear). For the last forty years the course of the United States has been a retrograde one. I attribute this principally to its complicity with the great sin (hear). There may be other causes, but, I believe, this is the chief. Slavery, acting upon extraordinary material prosperity, has sent a rot into the whole body politic, but the crisis of the disease has arrived, and symptoms of returning health show themselves. The principle of evil has indeed a strong hold on his victim, but he is visibly relaxing his grasp (hear). Look at the feeling which the proclamation of emancipation has called forth. The *Times*

predicted that it would disintegrate the North. On the contrary, it is now welding it together in a glow of noble enthusiasm (hear, hear). Is this a time for England to throw discouragement on the cause of freedom, and, in fear lest the motives of the North should not be of the highest order, to throw the whole weight of her moral influence into the scale of the Slave Power? I cannot think so (hear). I am not without hope that England will yet shake herself free from that yearning towards a slave Power, and once more assert her ancient enthusiasm as the country of Wilberforce and Clarkson, the emancipator of slaves, the champion of the oppressed, the friend of freedom in every form and in every quarter of the globe (loud and prolonged applause).

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant then said:—My Lord Bishop, Ladies, and Gentlemen—I assure you I have felt great pleasure in having found myself able to attend at the opening of another winter session of this flourishing and valuable institution (applause), and I gladly discharge the honorable office which has upon former occasions been assigned to me of asking you all to join with me in a cordial vote of thanks to the accomplished lecturer for his most able and eloquent address (applause). It is not the first time of my becoming acquainted with Professor Cairnes. I remember that I first heard him some years ago discussing with singular clearness and ability some very knotty points of political economy, at the meeting of the British Association, within the walls of Trinity College (applause). And what I heard from him and of him made me exceedingly glad when an opportunity occurred of conferring upon him a vacant chair in the Queen's College of Galway (applause). With respect to the lecture which we have just heard with such gratifying attention, the subject clearly, at this special time, is second to none in importance or delicacy, and certainly the light in which he has presented that subject to us does not in any way detract from the importance or from the responsibility of those who have to deal with it. It perhaps had a more intimate interest for myself, inasmuch as I have personally visited that great American Continent, and had become myself familiar with many of the actual battle-grounds and scenes of conflict. The proud Potomac, the winding James River, the gentle Ohio, and the brimming Mississippi, still glide before my memory with all their distinctive features (applause). And most shocking, indeed, it is to me when I reflect that this wealth of waters formed by the Almighty to fertilize the earth and blend its myriad families, of late should only have wafted the instruments of mutual slaughter, and that these endless slopes of waving verdure on which I have gazed with such fond admiration should have been reddened by the blood of fellow-countrymen, kinsmen—their own kinsmen and our own (loud applause). I feel that I shall best fall in with that, as it appears to me, a wise principle of neutrality which the Government to which I have the honor to belong, backed, I believe, by the general sense of the people, have hitherto maintained throughout this distressing conflict (hear, hear); and, I am sure, that maintaining that principle, and, not presuming to express any opinion myself upon the respective merits of the conflicting parties, I yet shall be giving vent to the wish which must pervade every Christian assembly, that, under the overruling shaping of Divine Providence, more moderate counsels, and a milder spirit may for the future prevail, that slavery may loosen its hideous grasp, and peace resume her placid sway (loud applause). He moved that the cordial thanks of the meeting be presented to Professor Cairnes for his most able and eloquent lecture.

The Solicitor-General said he had great pleasure in discharging the duty assigned to him of seconding the vote of thanks proposed by the Earl of Carlisle. It was not the first time he had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Cairnes discussing in that lucid

manner which he always commanded questions of economic science. He had the pleasure of knowing him in Trinity College, where he filled the chair which he (the Solicitor-General) had occupied since that time. He had also had the pleasure on many occasions of hearing him lecture in other places, and, certainly, whatever opinion they might form as to the subject which he brought before them that evening, they must be all unanimous in attributing to him the merit that he had brought to the discussion an amount of research and ability which it would be difficult to surpass. He did not wish, nor would it be proper for him to express any opinion with regard to the fearful contest now waging. He could only say that, as a man, he did not feel his sympathy enlisted on behalf of either of the combatants. He could not give his sympathy to the South, who were fighting to extend the system of slavery, and he confessed he could not find in the North the champion of humanity and civilization. They knew perfectly well that the fate of the negro race in America depended upon the result of the conflict. They could not tell what these results might be, and Professor Cairnes had truly said that prophecy on the subject had only been made in order to show that it would be falsified. He ventured to say there was no man endowed with wisdom enough to predict what would be the results of the war. They could only hope that the same great Being who has, by earthquakes and other great convulsions of nature, purified the air, and rendered it capable of sustaining life, would so govern and shape the course of events as yet to cause some good to arise out of this fearful war, and that He would elevate and improve that portion of the human race who occupied so degraded a position in the South, and in the North were detested and despised, that they might rise to the dignity and rank of free men, and that they might see them in another land enjoying that liberty and independence which, he feared, they never could enjoy in the United States of America (applause).

The Chairman put the resolution, which was carried, and the proceedings terminated with the Doxology.

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